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ABSTRACT

This literature review for the project "Career Planning Programs for Women Employees" reviews the status of women in the labor force, the relationship between socialization and careers, career development theories, and women's career patterns. This material serves as background for the last section, which is on women's career planning programs cited in the literature. Information on a number of programs for adult women, employed or not, is included in the report. The authors, in summary, suggest that the review tends to reinforce the the beliefs that women (1) have made significant contributions to the nation's economy, (2) require further study in regard to their career patterns, and (3) like men, can benefit from support services. (CSS)

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Research and Development Series No. 134

CAREER PLANNING PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN EMPLOYEES: Review of the Literature

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1977

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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THE CENTER MISSION STATEMENT

The Center for Vocational Education's mission is to increase the ability of diverse agencies, institutions, and organizations to solve educational problems relating to individual career planning, preparation, and progression. The Center fulfills its mission by:

- Generating knowledge through research
- Developing educational programs and products
- Evaluating individual program needs and outcomes
- Installing educational programs and products
- Operating information systems and services
- Conducting leadership development and training programs

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Foreword

The Center is currently engaged in a number of activities designed to aid in achieving sex fairness in education and in career development. Adult women are in need of programs that can help them plan, prepare for, and progress through their careers. This review of the literature is one of a series of four publications for the project *Career Planning Programs for Women Employees.* The other three publications report the results of a national survey, provide an annotated bibliography of programs, and provide a prototype program.

We would like to acknowledge the sponsor of the project, the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education of the U.S. Office of Education. Special thanks are due the reviewers of the manuscript, Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, Lucille Campbell Thrane, and Karin Stork Whitson; and the authors, Patricia Worthy Winkfield, Cheryl Meredith Lowry, and Louise Vetter, project director.

Robert E. Taylor
Director
The Center for Vocational Education

Summary

This literature review for the project *Career Planning Programs for Women Employees* reviews the status of women in the labor force, the relationship between socialization and careers, career development theories, and women's career patterns. This material serves as background for the last section, which is on career planning programs for women cited in the literature. Although the basic concern of the project is for career planning programs for women employees, information on a number of programs for adult women, employed or not, is included.

Some of the older literature regarding women and work tends to make the assumption that women have a choice between full-time homemaking and working outside the home. However, statistics show that many women must work because of financial need. Whether a woman works by choice or of necessity, it is important that she be equipped with the necessary career information to help her reach her goals.

Women are no longer satisfied with low wages and low status jobs. The opportunity for career advancement is just as important to the physical and mental well-being of many women and their families as it is to men. On the other hand, working women have needs and problems particular to them as women and as adults. Problems arise with family, friends, and with personal feelings of guilt for seeking a career outside the home.

It is vital that women, and men, have support services to assist them in meeting the various occupational and personal challenges that are encountered by adult workers. The area of career development for women creates an exciting challenge for theoreticians, counselors, adult educators, personnel directors, and all persons who are interested in or working with women in educational and/or work environments.

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CAREER PLANNING PROGRAMS

FOR WOMEN EMPLOYEES:

Review of the Literature

Introduction

This literature review for the project *Career Planning Programs for Women Employees* reviews the status of women in the labor force, the relationship between socialization and careers, career development theories, and women's career patterns. This material serves as background for a section on career planning programs for women cited in the literature. Although the basic concern of the project is for career planning programs for women employees, information on a number of programs for adult women, employed or not, is included.

The contributions, career patterns, and special needs of women in the work force have only recently received attention in this country. Some of the older literature, like the opinions of many middle class people, tends to assume that American women have the choice between full-time homemaking and working outside the home. That has never been the case for lower income women and now fewer middle class women have that choice. Women, like men, work for a variety of reasons, economic need not the least among them. The literature reviewed here tends to reinforce the belief that women have made significant contributions to the nation's economy, require further study in regard to their career patterns, and, like men, can benefit from support services like those cited in the last section of this document.

Labor Force Status

Overall Picture for Women

Sigmund Freud's rhetorical question, "What do women want?" would surely be amended by some to read, "What *more* do women want?" After all, they now have equal education and equal employment legislation, as well as labor force participation greater than ever before. The sad fact is, however, that while equal education and employment may well be the law, one would hardly know it from examining the number and variety of occupations women are currently prepared for or employed in. ". . . most of the 37 million women who now work in America are occupationally segregated and the 1.2 million other women who will join them this year will enter the same low-paying, low-status jobs that women have traditionally held."[1] More women are working today than ever before and a few have even made inroads into traditionally male occupations. But while the numbers of women workers continue to increase, the areas in which the most overwhelming increases have taken place are precisely the jobs where women have been working all along.[2] Howe, in her book *Pink Collar Workers*, agrees with others[3] who have contended that the major reason for the incredible rise in the number of employed married women has been that the *demand* for workers in the traditional female occupations has also soared.[4]

Women are distributed less evenly than men in the labor force, whether one examines specific occupations, occupational groups, or concentration by industry.[5]

*Over 40 percent of all women in the work force are employed in ten occupations: bookkeeper, cashier, elementary school teacher, nurse, private household worker, retail sales, seamstress, secretary, typist, and waitress. In comparison, only 20 percent of working men are concentrated in the ten largest occupations that employ males.

*Almost 70 percent of working women are concentrated in three occupational groups: clerical (35 percent), services (18 percent), and professional and technical (15 percent). Only about 50 percent of working males are employed in the three largest occupational groups employing men: skilled crafts (21 percent), professional and technical (14 percent), and managers (14 percent).

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[1]Corrine H. Rieder, *Women, Work, and Vocational Education*, Occasional Paper No. 26 (Columbus, Ohio: The Center for Vocational Education, The Ohio State University, 1977), p. 1.

[2]Louise Kapp Howe, *Pink Collar Workers* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p. 20.

[3]For instance, Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer, *The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition*, Population Monograph Series No. 5 (Berkeley, California: Institute of International Studies, 1970).

[4]Howe, p. 20.

[5]Rieder, pp. 2-3. The material following the asterisks was also cited by Rieder.

*Among all women employed in non-agricultural positions, 63 percent are concentrated in services (25 percent), retail (20 percent), and state and local government (18 percent, largely teachers). Only 43 percent of all working men are concentrated in the three industires employing the most men: manufacturing (19 percent), retail (14 percent), and state and local government (12 percent).

*In medicine, women are over-represented in anesthesiology, pathology, pediatrics, and psychiatry. However, they are grossly under-represented in surgery and surgical specialities. In addition, they are less likely than their male counterparts to be in private practice, particularly in solo private practice.

*In law, few women hold high positions in law firms, on judicial benches, or in state and national legislatures.

*In education, women account for almost 85 percent of all elementary school teachers but less than 50 percent of secondary school teachers and only one-quarter of college-level teachers. Only 19 percent of all elementary principals, 1 percent of secondary principals, and .01 percent of school superintendents are women. There are only 150 women who are chief executives of colleges, usually two- and four-year church-related colleges with small enrollments.

*Nearly one out of seven working men are managers or administrators; the comparable figure for women is one out of twenty.

Howe has coined the phrase "pink collar workers" to describe those who work in occupations in which at least 80 percent of the employees are female. It is estimated that 30-48 percent of all female workers are in the pink collar ghetto.[6] Among what she calls the "pinkest" of occupations are the following[7]:

	Percent Female in 1962	Percent Female in 1975
Registered nurses	98.5	97.0
Elementary school teachers	85.5	85.4
Typists	94.8	96.6
Telephone operators	96.3	93.3
Secretaries	98.5	99.1
Hairdressers	88.1	90.5
Waiters and waitresses	88.1	91.1
Nurses aides	75.2	85.8
Sewers and stitchers	94.1	95.8
Private household workers	97.3	97.4

[6]Howe, p. 17.

[7]Ibid., p. 21.

It is interesting to note that all but three of these ten pink collar occupations became even "pinker" from 1962 to 1975, although it was during those years that the women's movement began to strongly encourage women to break out of traditionally "feminine" jobs and that federal and state legislation made that more possible.

"Despite the new awareness and the passage of equal employment laws, women are beginning to discover what discouraged civil rights leaders learned in the 1960's: you can legislate against segregation, but you can't legislate integration. In other words, saying that the members of a minority can't be kept out does not mean they'll get in."[8]

Minority Women's Status

The problems encountered by working women who are members of racial or ethnic minorities should be given special attention. The minority race woman must face sex bias as well as racial discrimination, which can present seemingly insurmountable barriers to her progress. Minority race women, as a group, have been a vital part of the labor force for many years. The approximately 4.5 million minority race women in the labor force represent more than two-fifths of all minority workers. Many of these workers have responsibility for the total support of themselves and others, as one out of five minority women workers serves as a family head.[9] The labor force participation rates for married minority race women (including those with children of pre-school age) are greater than those of married white women. The March 1974 labor force participation rates for married minority race women with children under six years of age was 52 percent, while the rate for white women was 32 percent.[10]

The importance of paid employment to the lives of minority women and those dependent upon them for support is evident; however, they continue to maintain the lowest of the low-paying entry-level positions as illustrated by a review of the 1973 employment figures for clerical workers.

A total of 173,000 minority race women were employed as secretaries in 1973, representing 6 percent of the total number of all women working as secretaries. However, a much larger number of minority race women were employed as typists. Figures for 1973 show that minority race women make up 14 percent of all female typists or a total of 136,000.[11]

The 1973 employment figures indicated that 42 percent of minority race women workers were in white-collar jobs in comparison to more than 63 percent of white women. In contrast, minority race women were employed in service occupations almost twice as often as white women workers. A total of 19.1 percent of minority race women were in blue-collar jobs compared to 15.7 percent for white women.[12]

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[8]Margaret Henning and Anne Jardim, "Women Executives in the Old-Boy Network," *Psychology Today*, Vol. 10, No. 8 (January 1977), p. 76.

[9]U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Twenty Facts on Women Workers" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 1-2.

[10]U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *1975 Handbook on Women Workers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 45.

[11]Ibid., pp. 103-104.

[12]Ibid., p. 103.

Pay Differences

Those occupations that have a high concentration of women have four things in common: they are dead-end, low-paying, low-status, and often require little training. The pay factor is particularly important since most women, contrary to myth, work because of financial necessity. "More than one-half (over 20 million) of the 37 million American working women are either supporting themselves or are the sole support of children and/or husbands."[13] For these women, lofty discussions about whether women should work outside the home are not only superfluous they are cruel. Working women's wages may very often mean the difference between poverty and middle incomes for their families.[14] Nonetheless, the great majority of working women have not yet attained parity with working men in earned income. In 1973 the median income for women working full-time, year-round, was only 57 percent of men's and, contrary to what one might expect, the gap between men's and women's incomes is widening. In 1957, women's median income was 63 percent of men's.[15] Perhaps one reason the gap is widening is that the fastest growing occupations in recent years have been in schools, government, banks, hospitals, restaurants, and other services, which have always relied heavily on cheap female help.[16]

Howe discusses two interesting phenomena related to occupational segregation by sex and the pay differences that it promotes. There are, she says, wide discrepancies between the pay received by predominately female workers in one industry and the predominately male workers in another industry—even though the occupational titles and the work itself may be the same or similar in both industries. For instance, she points out, "assemblers in the higher-paid automotive industry are usually male while in the lower-paid electronics industry, they are predominately female."[17] The situation is often the same even in the same occupation in the same company. Retail sales is a good example. Women comprise 69 percent of those working in retail trade. But they tend to be selling lower-commission items such as clothing in department stores and apparel shops. Within the same department stores that may employ 85 percent women to sell clothes and other low-commission items, the higher paying furniture and appliance departments employ a much higher percentage of males than females. Economists call the arrangement or structure of jobs within the same company "the internal labor market," which Howe says is typically as segregated by sex as is the labor market as a whole.[18]

One particular problem in the pink collar ghetto is that "equal pay for equal work" legislation, designed to insure that male and female workers doing equivalent work earn the same wages, doesn't help employees competing against others of their sex. An employer can pay as little as the market will bear as long as any differences in pay among workers doing the same work does not have anything to do with their sex. The fact that workers who hold pink collar jobs generally earn less than workers in other occupations is not considered to be evidence of sexual discrimination because those female workers are believed to have had a choice in the kind of employment they seek and hold.

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[13] Beatrice Buckler, "To our Readers," *Working Woman*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (March 1977), p. 5.

[14] Marilyn Steele, *Women in Vocational Education* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northern Arizona University, 1974), p. *i*.

[15] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *1975 Handbook on Women Workers*, p. 129.

[16] Buckler, p. 5.

[17] Howe, p. 17.

[18] Ibid.

Socialization

Why is the pattern of employment for women so depressing and wasteful (to individuals, families, and society in general)—especially since the enactment of legislation has made it illegal for employers to discriminate on the basis of sex? Why are not large numbers of women moving through the doors just opened to them? Why are 25 percent of the young women who make up more than half of the enrollment in vocational education programs still clustered in consumer and homemaking programs that do not prepare them for paid employment?[19] According to Bem and Bem[20]:

> It is frequently argued that a twenty-one-year-old woman is perfectly free to choose a career if she cares to do so. No one is standing in her way. But this argument conveniently overlooks the fact that our society has spent twenty long years carefully marking the woman's ballot for her, and so it has nothing to lose in that twenty-first year by pretending to let her cast it for the alternative of her choice.

The "marking of her ballot" discussed by the Bems is socialization, the mechanism that has convinced so many that "proper" behavior (including how one earns a living) is sex-determined and that few women will have to work outside the home except, perhaps, to "help out" for a short time. But, of course, there is no evidence that males or females are inherently suited or not suited for particular occupations and the statistics show that women *are* working—in increasingly larger numbers for increasingly longer periods.

According to U.S. Department of Labor figures:

- Nine out of ten women work at some time during their lives.[21]
- The average woman worker has a work life expectancy of twenty-five years.[22]
- In 1975, 49 percent of all minority women and 46 percent of white women sixteen years or older were in the labor force.[23]
- Women comprised 40 percent of the labor force in 1975, only 20 percent in 1920.[24]

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[19] Steele, p. *i*.

[20] Sandra L. Bem and Daryl L. Bem, *Training the Woman to Know Her Place* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1973), p. 11.

[21] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Twenty Facts on Women Workers," p. 1.

[22] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "The Myth and the Reality" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 2.

[23] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Women Workers Today" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 5.

[24] Ibid., p. 1.

- Thirty-three percent of all women workers had part-time jobs at some time during 1974. While part-time work is frequently preferred by married women with small children, some women work part-time only because they are unable to find full-time employment.[25]

- Married women who were living with their husbands accounted for nearly 58 percent of all women workers in 1975. Forty-four percent of all married women were in the labor force.[26]

- About 14.1 million women with children under eighteen years of age were in the labor force in 1975, of whom 5.4 million (37 percent of such mothers) had children under six years of age. In fact, the 47.4 percent labor force participation rate of mothers with children under eighteen in 1975 was slightly higher than the rate for all women (46 percent).[27]

Socialization Begins Early

Clearly, marriage and small children have not kept women from working. But the socialization that has taught them that they *will* marry and have children (indeed, *must* in order to be truly "fulfilled") has contributed to their lack of preparation for work. The lessons about what is "proper" behavior for girls and boys, women and men, start very early for children of both sexes. One study,[28] in fact, suggests that sex stereotyping begins when a child is less than twenty-four hours old, when the way parents describe their children (in terms of size, firmness, whether the infant is relaxed or nervous, etc.) depends on the sex of the child.

In addition, research shows that when infants are only two days old, mothers begin smiling, touching, and talking to their female babies more than to their male infants.[29] That pattern is still in evidence when children are six months old as mothers hover over their girl babies at play more than over their boys.[30] As children get older, there are more opportunities for their parents and others to instruct them in the "proper" behavior for their sex.

One study[31] of toys and adult toy buyers found that the buyers defined "masculine," feminine," and "neutral" toys along traditional lines. The researchers reported that: (1) the toys the buyers defined as "masculine" were more varied and expensive and viewed by the buyer as relatively complex, active, and social; (2) those toys defined as "neutral" were viewed as the most creative and educational, with boys receiving the most intricate items; and (3) those toys defined as "feminine" were

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[25] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[26] Ibid., p. 2.

[27] Ibid., p. 3.

[28] Jack Horn, "Sex Role Stereotyping—It Starts Early and Dies Hard," *Psychology Today*, Vol. 8, No. 8 (January 1975), pp. 85-91.

[29] Bem and Bem, p. 5.

[30] S. Goldberg and M. Lewis, "Play Behavior in the Year-Old Infant: Early Sex Differences," *Child Development*, Vol. 4 (1969), pp. 21-31.

[31] *Ms.*, "A Report on Children's Toys and Socialization to Sex Roles," (citing a 1972 study conducted by Louis Wolf Goodman and Janet Lever), *Ms.*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (December 1972), p. 57.

viewed as the most simple, passive, and solitary. The older the child for whom the toy was bought, the more important it became to the toy buyer that the toy fit the sex of the child. Obviously, store clerks don't refuse to let customers buy traditionally "masculine" toys for little girls and traditionally "feminine" toys for boy children; the decision about which toys are appropriate for children of either sex is made long before the buyer gets to the check-out counter. Stores and toy manufacturers, appealing to both children and adults, advertise toys along traditional lines. Boys are encouraged to build and otherwise work with their hands. Girls learn that they should be interested in dolls now and babies later and spend many hours in training as they play with all the miniature household paraphernalia toy manufacturers are only too happy to provide.[32]

By the time children are in the second grade, boys are able to state a preference for twice as many occupations as girls can.[33] With toys so often having occupational significance and society itself employing men in a wider variety of occupations, one shouldn't wonder why.

Schools Do Their Part

Unfortunately, schools do their share of stereotyping, too. All over the country, school administrators and prestige team coaches are men, while teachers, librarians, nurses, and secretaries tend to be women.[34] The higher the grade level, the fewer the female teachers and administrators in vocational and technical education.[35] Perhaps even worse, one recent study indicates that teachers may even evaluate students differently on the basis of sex. Junior high school students were asked to describe good girl students and good boy students. Among the adjectives used to describe good boy students were: active, adventuresome, aggressive, curious, energetic, independent, and inventive. Included in their descriptions of good girls students were the adjectives: appreciative, calm, conscientious, considerate, cooperative, dependable, obliging, and thorough.[36]

Educational materials, textbooks, and the like, are also persuasive and pervasive promoters of sex stereotyping, as a study[37] of 2,760 stories in 134 readers from 14 major publishers found. In general, the researchers found serious under-representation of females (five stories about boys for every two about girls; three stories about men for every one about women; 119 biographical stories about eighty-eight men but only twenty-seven biographical stories about seventeen women). But they also found that while men were shown in 147 jobs in the stories, women were shown in only twenty-six. Math, science, and history books have also been shown to ignore the contributions of

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[32]Louise Vetter, Cheryl Meredith Lowry, and Carolyn Burkhardt, *Sugar and Spice Is Not the Answer: A Parent Handbook on the Career Implications of Sex Stereotyping* (Columbus, Ohio: The Center for Vocational Education, The Ohio State University, 1977), p. 16.

[33]C. L. F. Siegel, "Sex Differences in the Occupational Choices of Second Graders," *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, Vol. 3 (1973), pp. 15-19.

[34]American Association of School Administrators, *Sex Equality in Educational Materials* (Arlington, Virginia: American Association of School Administrators, 1974), p. 2.

[35]Steele, p. *i*.

[36]Myra Sadker and David Sadker, "Sexism in Schools: An Issue for the 70's," *The Education Digest*, Vol. 39 (April 1974), pp. 58-61.

[37]Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane as Victims* (Princeton, New Jersey: Women on Words and Images, 1972).

women, under-represent women, and portray women in an undesireable or sex-stereotyped manner.[38] Even most career education materials, developed since 1970, have been shown to be sex (and racially) biased.[39]

"By the time that girls reach high school, where most vocational counseling takes place, they have usually become predisposed by enculturation by socialization to express the 'feminine core' of personality at the expense of effective planning that encompasses both the sex role and the competitive achievement role."[40] Quite aside from sex discrimination that may prohibit them from training and employment more commensurate with their interests and abilities, women are afraid. They are afraid that pursuing their own personal development will damage their relationships with men, that they will be considered "unfeminine," that they will be considered "different," and that perhaps society was correct in convincing them that the subordinate jobs are all that their talents will permit. This kind of outlook turns even a special talent or gift a woman may have into a handicap.[41]

Rewards for Education Differ

Having grown up in a society that has convinced them that it is best for them to be "feminine" at all costs and thus passive, dependent, noncompetitive, and anxious to please, most young women are prepared to do just that. Or, rather, few are prepared to do anything else. Even those who do prepare themselves for employment by graduating from college may find out that education rarely means as much in actual dollars to women as it does to men. It may be true that the more education a woman has, the higher her salary is likely to be. But her earnings in no way compare with the salaries of men with the same education. The median income of male college graduates employed full-time, year-round in 1972 was $14,670. The figure for female college graduates employed full-time, year-round in 1972 was $8,925, a figure that was below the median income for *male high school graduates* ($10,075) and only *slightly higher* than that for *male workers who did not complete elementary school* ($7,575).[42]

While minority race women workers have made significant progress in educational attainment during the last decade, they do not yet fare as well as white women in the labor market. In 1973 the percent of minority race women workers with eight or less years of education was 17 percent as compared to fewer than 10 percent for white women workers.[43] The gap between the educational levels of minority race women and white women workers has narrowed, however. The median number of school years completed by minority race women workers rose from 10.5 to 12.1 between 1962 and 1973. For white women, the comparable figures were 12.3 to 12.5 years.[44]

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[38] American Association of School Administrators, pp. 6-7.

[39] Rieder, p. 7.

[40] E. Matthews, "Elements of a Theory of Career Development of Girls," Unpublished paper (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1957).

[41] Virginia T. Pfiffner, "The Needs of Women Students," *Community and Junior College Journal*, Vol. 43 (1972), No. 1, pp. 12-15.

[42] Elizabeth Waldman and Beverly J. McEaddy, "Where Women Work—An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 97 (1974), No. 5, pp. 3-13.

[43] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *1975 Handbook on Women Workers*, p. 185.

[44] Ibid., p. 186.

Despite these gains, the 1973 median income of minority race women employed in full-time jobs was 88 percent of that of white women.[45]

Glover et al., commented on the plight of college-educated minority women. "They hold educational credentials that are supposed to open the doors to professional jobs, but they are unable to get decent white-collar jobs at the professional level."[46] There is much to be done to improve the employment status and income level of working minority race women.

Discrimination aside, one of the reasons that a college education doesn't pay off for women in the same way it does for men is that most women have been socialized to believe the only occupations available to them and for which they are suited are those that women have traditionally held. Many college women find that they can't get jobs in the overcrowded fields they prepared for. Sometimes they find they can earn as much money working at a job that doesn't require a college degree as they could by working in the area they studied. But those jobs don't pay much and are also overcrowded because the seven out of eight women in the labor force who don't have college degrees also need jobs.

Some progress has been made toward equalizing job opportunities between men and women, although most breakthroughs (some would call them "tokens") have occurred in professional occupations rather than in the occupations that employ the overwhelming majority of women. Some scholars[47] argue that while the jobs have changed, the proportions of women employed in them remain the same as they were at the turn of the century. (For example, more than one-third of all women were employed in domestic services in 1900. Now it is clerical work that employs more than a third of today's working women.[48]) So the pink collar ghetto is neither a recent phenomenon nor on the wane.

The most effective strategy for ending the occupational segregation so long a part of our national job picture may be: (1) to encourage women entering (or preparing to enter) paid employment to seek jobs other than those traditionally thought to be "Women's work and (2) to help women already doing women's work to prepare to leave the pink collar ghetto. However, the most successful implementation of this strategy requires the use of a career development theory (or theories)—which do not now exist.

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[45] Ibid., p. 135.

[46] Robert W. Glover, Alexis Herman, and Allan King, "Minority Women, Professional Work," *Manpower*, July 1975, p. [illegible]

[47] Oppenheimer, op. cit.; Francine Blau Weisskoff, "Women's Place in the Labor Market," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 62 (May 1962); Barbara Bergmann and Irma Adelman, "The 1973 Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisors; The Economic Role of Women," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 63 (September 1973); Edward Gross, "*Plus Ca Change* . . . The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," *Social Problems*, Vol. 16 (Fall 1968).

[48] Howe, p. 16.

Career Development Theories

Theories Omit Women

Since women workers have not been viewed as a stable part of the labor force, little attention has been directed toward their occupational advancement and career development. According to Vetter, "The occupational behavior of women has not been treated comprehensively in the counseling literature, largely because women as workers have been perceived as individually transient and collectively insignificant due to the type and level of jobs available to them in our society."[49] Traditional career development theories and research have concentrated on middle class white male populations. Osipow writes that "Few special explanations or concepts have been devised to deal with the special problems of career development of women. Most of the masculine-based tests and thoeries fail to really provide a useful vehicle for the understanding of the career development of women."[50]

It is necessary to define career development and theory in order to see their significance to the occupational growth of all persons. Theory serves as an operational guide and basis for research. As Osipow puts it, "Theories tie together what would otherwise be a number of disparate empirical observations."[51] Career development, as defined by Bailey and Stadt, "is a term used to describe the accumulation of individual behaviors related to work, both before and after entry into an occupation. It is a developmental, continuously iterative process which progresses from infancy throughout adulthood like an expanding spiral."[52]

Career development theory and research regarding women workers is essential in assisting females to develop clear cut occupational plans. Zytowski writes, "A theory of vocational behavior should ultimately be able to determine one or several optimal courses of career or life development, taking into account the kinds of abilities and motivations a person has, his or her resources, information about alternatives and their accessibility."[53] Career development theories for women can serve to stimulate more research in the area and provide a framework for support in lessening the occupational restraints imposed on women. The traditional role of women has been that of homemaker with little emphasis on, or accommodation to, careers outside the home. Tennyson points out "that much of the present knowledge provided by research may not permit generalization to large segments of the population, particularly to women and to those who live in marginal socioeconomic circumstances,

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[49]Louise Vetter, "Career Counseling for Women," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 4 (1973), p. 54.

[50]S. H. Osipow, *Theories of Career Development* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 247.

[51]Ibid., p. 2.

[52]L. J. Bailey and R. Stadt, *Career Education: New Approaches to Human Development* (Bloomington, Illinois: McKnight Publishing Co., 1973), p. 347.

[53]D. G. Zytowski, "Toward a Theory of Career Development for Women," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 7 (March 1969), p. 660.

constitutes a theoretical and practical problem of considerable importance."[54] The awareness brought about through the women's movement has helped many women realize that they can have a choice of life styles and careers. However, many women have not been equipped with the proper information and skills necessary to assist them in making occupational and career planning decisions.

Koontz, commenting on women returning to paid employment, states, "According to testimony of the state department service officers and private employment agencies, most women wanting to return to paid employment underestimate the contribution they can make to an employer. The result is that they settle for dead-end, low-paying, traditionally 'female' jobs, when their potential is often far greater." [55]

Women have a variety of valuable experiences (e.g., volunteer work, managing a home) to bring to a work situation that may not be directly related to a particular job. However, they must be encouraged to assess themselves, recognize their assets and deficiencies, and determine what is necessary to achieve to their maximal level in areas of occupational interest.

Career development theories for women and research that tests such theories can provide a basis for programs aimed at the career development needs of women. Hansen lists the following career development needs as those to be addressed by educators.

1. Developing positive self-concepts
2. Developing interpersonal skills, basic skills, and employability skills
3. Knowledge of the career decision-making process
4. Developing a sense of community relatedness
5. Developing a sense of agency or testing control (planfulness)
6. Integrating education and work knowledge, attitudes, and skills with self[56]

Traditional Theories

The four traditional theories of career development are the: (1) trait-factor theory, (2) sociology and career choice theory, (3) self-concept theory, and (4) vocational choice and personality theories.

Trait-factor theorists believe that the problems of vocational choice can be solved by matching an individual's abilities and interests with vocational opportunities. The trait-factor theory served as the basis for the vocational testing movement and the development of interest inventories such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, Kuder Preference Record, Differential Aptitude Test, and the Guilford-Zimmerman Aptitude Survey.[57]

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[54] W. Tennyson, "Career Development," *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 38 (1968), p. 350.

[55] E. Koontz, "Fighting Stereotypes: Women Want Up the Career Ladder," *American Vocational Journal*, Vol. 48 (1973), p. 35.

[56] S. L. Hansen, "The Career Development Process for Women: Current Views and Programs," *Pupil Personnel Services Journal*, Vol. 4 (1975), No. 2, p. 24.

[57] Osipow, p. 10.

The sociology and career choice theory is a sociological model of career development. The basic premise of this theory is that circumstances beyond the control of the individual contribute to occupational choice. As a result, it is necessary to assist those embarking on career decision-making to develop techniques to cope with environmental influences.

The self-concept theory is a combination of two models and its advocates contend that:

1. As a person grows older, he/she develops more clearly defined self-concepts.

2. Individuals construct images of the work world and compare them with their self-image in attempting to make occupational choices.

3. The sufficiency of a career decision is determined by the similarity between an individual's self-concept and the vocational concept of the career that he or she chooses to enter.[58]

Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma,[59] advocates of the self-concept theory, conducted research to identify the events that influence vocational choice. They concluded that vocational choice is an irreversible process and occurs in clearly defined phases. The individual involved in occupational choice must make a compromise between his or her desires and actual career possibilities. Three phases of occupational choice were outlined by Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma. The fantasy phase involves the early occupational preferences expressed by children. The tentative phase, which begins around age twelve, includes the following periods:

1. Interest—personal career preferences

2. Capacity—individual awareness of abilities

3. Value—intrinsic or extrinsic value of an occupation

4. Transition—progression into the final phase

The final stage of vocational choice is the realistic period in which the young adult embarks on fulfilling his or her career choice by entering a job or seeking further training.

Ginzberg and his associates conducted a research study with white male youth to test their theory. They concluded that the process of career choice takes place during adolescence and is closely linked to the physical changes that occur during that time of life.

Super's interest in developmental psychology and the concept of life stages prompted him to expand the idea of career patterns developed by Miller and Form.[60] He asserted that an individual's career behavior follows a predictable pattern. Four career patterns were outlined: (1) stable, (2) conventional, (3) unstable, and (4) multiple-trial.[61]

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[58]Ibid., p. 11.

[59]E. Ginzberg, S. W. Ginsburg, S. Axelrad, and J. L. Herma, *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

[60]D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1951).

[61]D. E. Super, *The Psychology of Careers* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1957).

The stable career pattern typifies planned careers in which individuals move from occupational preparation to related work. Professional and skilled workers are highly representative of the stable career pattern. The conventional career pattern is most often characterized by managerial personnel and skilled and clerical workers. Workers in the conventional career pattern move from an initial introduction to the working world to trial work periods and on to a stable occupation. The unstable career pattern is distinguished by a number of related jobs that do not result in a lifetime career for the worker, but spark a change in vocational direction. This pattern is prevalent in semi-skilled, clerical, and domestic workers. The multiple-trial career pattern is characterized by repeated employment changes and the lack of a continuous work pattern.

Vocational choice and personality theorists believe that workers choose specific jobs because they foresee the job as potentially satisfying their needs. Exposure to a job modifies the personality characteristics of a worker so that the personalities of the individuals in a specific occupation eventually become similar to one another.

Anne Roe's personality theory was influenced by her research on the developmental backgrounds and personalities of male scientists. Roe[62] found that physical-biological and social scientists differ in personality and in their interactions with people. She concluded that these differences are influenced by the various child-rearing practices of their parents. Roe developed a system to classify occupations on the basis of the extent to which persons involved in various occupations are or are not oriented towards people.

Holland[63] offers further insight into the personality theory of career choice. He formulated six categories of individuals and work environments. The six categories represent varying life styles and the manner in which individuals relate to their environment. The six categories that comprise Holland's theory of career typology include the realistic type, which is aggressive, physically adept, and at ease with concrete rather than abstract forms and ideas. The intellectual person is stimulated by ideas of the mind and prefers to avoid social interaction. In contrast, the social person desires work situations that require interpersonal involvement. The conventional individual is at his/her best in a structured work environment. Control through the use of verbal abilities is a strong characteristic of the enterprising man or woman. The artistic individual is interested in an outlet for self-expression.

Women's Career Patterns

Increased interest in the changing life styles of women has prompted several theorists to investigate the career development of women and contribute to the literature in the area.

Anastasia[64] described five career patterns of women that relate to socioeconomic divisions. The blue-collar career pattern generally includes women who are satisfied with life as homemakers and are not interested in any other type of work. Women who follow the active volunteer pattern are often well-educated and have an upper-middle-class socioeconomic background. Women in the

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[62]Anne Roe, *A Psychological Study of Eminent Psychologists and Anthropologists and a Comparison With Biological and Physical Scientists*, Psychological Monographs (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1953).

[63]J. L. Holland, *The Psychology of Vocational Choice* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1966).

[64]A. Anastasia, "Sex Differences in Vocational Choices," *National Catholic Conference Journal*, Vol. 14 (1969), No. 4, pp. 63-76.

interim job pattern work only until they become married. The late-blooming career woman tends to reenter the labor market after a long period as a homemaker. The double-life pattern is becoming more popular as women are choosing to combine marriage, family, and careers outside of the home.

Super[65] identified seven career patterns that classify the work histories of women. The stable homemaking career pattern includes women who marry after completing their formal education and who do not work outside of the home. Women in the conventional pattern become homemakers after a period of employment. The stable working career pattern is made up of single women who have trained for a career and work continuously. Women with the double-track career pattern combine marriage, family, and career to create a varied life style. The interrupted career pattern includes women who marry, become full-time homemakers, and later return to work. Women with unstable career patterns tend to fluctuate between full-time homemaking and work outside the home. The multiple trial career pattern is characterized by a series of jobs that are not related and results in a work pattern that lacks cohesiveness.

Holland and Whitney recognized the lack of knowledge in the area of vocational choice of women and developed seven categories for classifying the vocational choices of women students. The categories were the intellectual, social-intellectual, social-conventional, social-enterprising, social-artistic, the conventional, and the artistic.[66]

Psathas pointed out that factors such as traditional marriage and sex roles, marital plans, attitudes of husbands, and financial stability influence the work life of women. Such factors help to determine the vocational choice and extent of work activity of many women.[67] Zytowski went further to formulate the following nine postulates to identify the differences in career patterns of men and women and the factors that relate to such differences.[68]

1. The modal life role for women is described as that of the homemaker.

2. The nature of the woman's role is not static: it will ultimately bear no distinction from that of men.

3. The life role of women is orderly and developmental, and may be divided into sequences according to the preeminent task in each.

4. Vocational and homemaker participation are largely mutually exclusive. Vocational participation constitutes departure from the homemaker role.

5. Three aspects of vocational participation are sufficient to distinguish patterns of vocational participation: age or ages of entry, span of participation, and degree of participation.

6. The degree of vocational participation represented by a given occupation is defined as the proportion of men to the total workers employed in the performance of that job.

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[65] Super, op. cit.

[66] J. L. Holland and D. R. Whitney, *Changes in the Vocational Plans of College Students: Orderly or Random?* ACT Research Report No. 25 (Iowa City, Iowa: American College Testing Program, April 1968).

[67] G. Psathas, "Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice for Women," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 52 (1968), pp. 253-268.

[68] Zytowski, pp. 661-664.

7. Women's vocational patterns may be distinguished in terms of three levels (derived from the combination of entry age, span, and degree of participation) forming an ordinal scale.

8. Women's preference for a pattern of vocational participation is an internal event and is accounted for by motivational factors.

9. The pattern of vocational participation is determined jointly by preference (representing motivation) and by factors that are both external (situational and environmental) and internal (such as ability).

Matthews and Tiedeman[69] conducted a research study with junior high school girls that demonstrates the influence of traditional sex role attitudes and socialization on the career plans of female youth. They found that the girls who indicated sound vocational plans in junior high school had changed their goals to marriage by the time they reached high school.

The belief that females and males differ in their career attitudes has been tested for accuracy by several researchers. Davis et al.[70] conducted research to study twelve-year-old males and females. They concluded that a positive correlation existed between more mature career choices, intelligence, and the female sex. This study is supported by the work of Smith and Herr,[71] who used the Vocational Development Inventory-Attitude Scale developed by Crites to study male and female youth in grades 8 and 10. They found that the female students possessed more mature attitudes regarding work and occupational planning than the male students. A study by Crites[72] indicated little difference in the occupational attitudes of boys and girls. He, thus, concluded that a person's sex may not be as vital a factor in the establishment of vocational attitudes as previously believed.

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[69] E. Matthews and D. V. Tiedeman, "Attitudes Toward Career and Marriage and the Development of Life Style in Young Women," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, Vol. 11 (1964), pp. 375-384.

[70] D. Davis et al., "Occupational Choice of Twelve-Year-Olds," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 40 (1962), pp. 628-629.

[71] E. D. Smith and M. L. Herr, "Sex Differences in the Maturation of Vocational Attitudes Among Adolescents," *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, Vol. 20 (1972), pp. 177-182.

[72] J. O. Crites, *Measurement of Vocational Maturity in Adolescence*, Psychological Monographs (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1965).

Career Planning Programs for Women Cited in the Literature

In this review of the current literature to identify existing career planning activities for employed women sponsored by business/industry and community or junior colleges, the programs sought may have offered career planning activities to employed women in order to help them change jobs, advance in their jobs, or gain skills at which women may be less experienced than men. In addition, the activities may have been open to employed men as well as women.

Few programs were identified that offered career planning programs for women employees. A study conducted by the American Institutes for Research in 1974 (and described by Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49) indicated that there are numerous career counseling programs for women. A total of 367 programs were identified by the survey, 32 percent of which were designed specifically for women. However, a majority of the programs are for educated, middle-class women who have never worked or have not been active in the work force for a long time. Many programs of this type concentrate on raising the consciousness of women. Programs for low income, underemployed, and/or uneducated women are few in number.

The programs listed here were selected because the career-related activities they offer are within the scope of the project. There are variations in the type of activities offered, the audience served, the methods and techniques used, and the sponsoring agencies. However a basic goal, to improve the occupational future of women, seems to be common to all programs reviewed.

Career Exploration for Women Workshop

The University of Kansas Continuing Education Division sponsors a career exploration workshop for women to help them select careers and overcome obstacles that inhibit success in their occupational fields. Activities and/or services offered to women participating in the workshops include self-assessment, assertiveness training, career information, and advice on employment.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

Center for Career Advancement

The National Council of Negro Women, Inc., serves employed clerical workers through the Center for Career Advancement. The center was designed to help program participants increase their confidence and occupational skills. The program contains academic components, as well as workshops on employment interview and application skills, effective work relationships, and time management.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

Continuum Center for Adult Counseling and Leadership Training

The program conducted by the Continuum Center for Adult Counseling and Leadership Training at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan, emphasizes career decision-making and value orientation skills for adults.

The day program attracts women who are not employed outside the home and who are in the process of deciding whether to return to work or to school. The night program focuses on "careers in transition" and involves men and women who are currently employed but desire a more satisfying work experience.

Staff members and guest speakers present information at large group sessions. The small group sessions offer participants an opportunity to identify occupational interests, develop action plans for reaching their career goals, and discuss their progress.

The staff has utilized existing career materials and made appropriate changes to meet the needs of adults.

Source of Information: Elinor Waters and Jane Goodman, "Career Counseling for Adults: Why, When, Where, How," *The Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (June 1977), pp. 337-343.

Lawrence Laboratory, University of California at Livermore

A pilot project at the Lawrence Laboratory focuses on the individual needs of workers. Employees are assisted in assessing their interests and capabilities and in formulating future career plans.

Source of Information: Nancy K. Schlossberg, "Breaking Out of the Box: Organizational Options for Adults," *The Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (June 1977), pp. 313-319.

Management Training Programs for Women

Several programs have been identified that are aimed towards increasing the upward mobility of women in the work world and expanding their career options. They are: Women's Leadership Project in Adult Education, The Boston University School of Education; Leadership and Management Course for Women, Office of Women's Programs, The University of Tennessee; and Women's Opportunity Research Center, Middlesex Community College.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

Mid-Career Counseling and Information Program

The State University of New York at Stony Brook developed a career planning and development program for adults facing mid-career change. Homemakers have so far comprised the largest single category of program participants. This group expressed a desire to plan a career and enter satisfying work experiences. Adults who have worked for the major part of their lives in one profession are assisted in considering various career options.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

Modular Life Planning/Career Development Program for Women

The Everywoman Center at the University of Massachusetts developed a Modular Life Planning/Career Development Program for Women. The program was designed to help women identify their needs and to provide them with current occupational information. The individualized program gives each woman the opportunity to work on modules to meet her specific need.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration

The Counseling and Personnel Services Department at the University of Maryland coordinates a pilot project for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The project offers career counseling to employees and trial work experiences to personnel directly below the middle management level.

Source of Information: Nancy K. Schlossberg, "Breaking Out of the Box: Organizational Options for Adults," *The Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (June 1977), pp. 313-319.

New Careers for Adults Program
Kingsborough Community College

The New Careers for Adults Program was an occupational decision-making project for adults, designed to serve persons interested in new careers, women reentering the work force, and underemployed and unemployed adults.

The program focused on career decision-making workshops, career counseling, and the establishment of linkages between educational and training institutions to serve the career needs of adults.

Program participants included men and women; however, 82 percent of the ninety persons completing the workshop series were women.

Source of Information: Natalie Rubinton, "New Careers for Adults," *The Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (June 1977), pp. 364-368.

Oregon Division of Continuing Education

The Oregon Division of Continuing Education designed a work experience internship program for women who have not had previous work experience. The participants work part-time for a three-month period. The goal of the program is to make women more employable.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

Regional Learning Service of Central New York

The Regional Learning Service (RLS) works in conjunction with other agencies, schools, and colleges in the Syracuse area to provide vocational guidance to persons seeking occupational direction. Staff at RLS help students conduct self-assessments and match their needs with the various resources available at colleges, schools, businesses, and government agencies. Created in 1974, RLS is funded by the Carnegie Corporation.

Source of Information: Barbara Radloff, "What Is the Next Thing I Want to Do with My Life," *Carnegie Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 1977), pp. 3-5.

University of Maine at Orono

The University of Maine at Orono sponsored three pilot programs in management training for women. A total of 101 women participated in the program during 1973 and 1974. The goal of the program was to prepare women to assume management positions.

Source of Information: Guvenc Alpander and Jean Gutmann, "Contents and Techniques of Management," *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (February 1976), pp. 76-79.

Women in Apprenticeship Program

The purpose of the Women in Apprenticeship Program, sponsored by Advocates for Women in San Francisco, California, is to increase the number of women in male-dominated trade and union jobs. The program helps women obtain apprenticeship training and locate employment.

Source of Information: Laurie R. Harrison and Alan D. Entine, "Existing Programs and Emerging Strategies," *The Counseling Psychologist*, Vol. 6 (1976), No. 1, pp. 45-49.

The Challenge

Some of the older literature regarding women and work tends to make the assumption that women have a choice between full-time homemaking and working outside the home. As previously indicated, statistics show that many women must work because of financial need. Whether a woman works by choice or by necessity, it is important that she be equipped with the necessary career information to help her reach her vocational goals.

Women are no longer satisfied with low wages and low status jobs. The opportunity for career advancement is just as important to the physical and mental well-being of many women and their families as it is to men.

On the other hand, working women have needs and problems particular to them as women and as adults. Problems arise with family, friends, and with personal feelings of guilt for seeking a career outside the home.

It is vital that women, and men, have support services to assist them in meeting the various occupational and personal challenges that are encountered by adult workers. As Venn[73] writes,

> There is a growing awareness now on the part of adult educational planners that adults can have a wide range of real handicaps that must be met and overcome before stable employment can be anticipated or training for employment undertaken. . . . Services needed include such items as debt management, consumer education, vocational counseling and guidance, physical rehabilitation, marriage counseling, family management, personal grooming, job-finding techniques, and many more.

The area of career development for women creates an exciting challenge for theoreticians, counselors, adult educators, personnel directors, and all persons who are interested in or working with women in educational and/or work environments.

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[73]G. Venn, "Vocational-Technical Education," in *Handbook of Adult Education*, edited by R. Smith, G. Aker, and J. R. Kidd (New York: The Macmillan Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 484-485.

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